1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

rangement as frequently as possible, even though it is not consistently maintained.

Many of the five hundred songs collected seem no more than rearrangements of the beloved words "rain," "wind," and "mountain." It is obvious that in a society where dreaming was practically compulsory, many a man must have grasped at some slight alteration in tune or words in order to be able to call a song his own. In fact, dreamers have passionately defended their rights when the writer suggested that some song seemed a repetition of one already transcribed. "Can't you see, it says mountain instead of hill and green instead of red? It's *my* song."

Some songs, however, are vignettes of desert life, as clear in contour as a Chinese poem. The brown crickets hopping among the squash vines, the deer drinking where the water drips beside the datura blossoms, and the birds chattering on the ground that the deer have trampled are strikingly chosen details which evoke a whole picture. Some are even humorous, for every phase of the subject must be vivified, even the clumsiness of an inept hunter or the antics of a turtle at courting. Papago ceremonial art, it would seem, found its best expression in words. The scanty, colorless costumes, the background of empty desert or houses like earthen mounds, had beauty only in their stark simplicity. But the very passion of need sharpened songs and oratory to a vividness which is often poetry.

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The most dangerous of all mythical beings were the scalps, the "prisoners" [11] who lived inside a warrior's scalp basket. These might plague their owner's family, his visitors, and even the warrior himself, if he had neglected them. They emerged from their basket in the form of little men, very dirty and fierce, in Apache dress. They peeped through the door at the sufferer, twitched his blanket, and tickled him. If he were their owner, and they had not been fed, they might ask for food or offerings. If he were a visitor in the house, they would frighten him by whistling and swinging to and fro in the basket.

Women suffered more seriously. All lovesickness and sexual malaise were attributed to the scalp mannikins, who were thought to caress women in their sleep and even have intercourse with them. If a man had hallucinations that his wife was unfaithful, it was due to the same cause. The remedy for this was not the war purification songs, but a special set of scalp mannikin songs, dealing with their sexual aspect. These songs were the property of enemy slayers, but in recent years have been learned by others.

SCALP MANNIKIN SONGS

The scalp mannikin sings.

37. "Under the sun's rain house I stood;
My blossoms I strewed and ran."(31)

38. A scalp meeter girl
Comes here,
With lovely flowers;
The scalp children,
Yonder, ran out
All covered with flowers.(20)

39. What did you do to me?
You made a scalp basket.
Lo, you made a house for me,
Thus doing,
Within it you wrapped me.
The sun set,
Then I came out.(20)

[11] Cf. the Pima *tcuvim*, "an evil spirit exorcised by a strand of Apache hair" (Russell, p. 265). However, *tcuvim* is the word for smoking and may refer to purification. One song quoted (p. 325) is classed as *kokpU*, which means prisoners.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

some said, look at them. Nevertheless, they brought blessing to the whole household since it was unthinkable that the owner's fate should be separated from that of his family group. 422

To some extent, this blessing was general good luck but the owner of a fetish also earned food by it. The owners of the purification and the curing fetishes were all empowered to cure certain ailments and, for this work, they received their meals. "Thus you will feed yourself" was the regular encouragement given them at the purification ceremony. But the shaman had the rank of a specialist with a highly paid craft. In fact, it was paid out of proportion to all other services so that he stood alone as the one person whose income was great enough to make him independent of the family. This independence, so contrary to the social scheme, must have contributed to the fear in which the shaman was held. 422 [277] 756 465

Songs and ritual were also individual property. The owner of a dreamed song could work magic with it and receive a meal just as he would if he helped harvest a field. But he could not sell it. Such a song, to have magic, must be dreamed by the singer and people resorted to many expedients to convince themselves that they had dreamed a song. But pay was not one of them. Ritual was not dreamed but was handed down in families, the current practitioner choosing his heir from among the eligible males. Reciters of this sort of ritual had the function of priests and were not renumerated. 424 424 428

Much Papago property was destroyed and buried at a death. The house was burned if possible, but the heavy posts being hard to obtain, the thatching was sometimes burned and the posts moved. The clothing, paints and tools of the individual were buried with him, also food and water and as much more equipment as could be spared. A man might have a buckskin and a woman a jar or two. Fetishes and shaman's equipment were not buried but kept by the family. 768 764

Arrangements have been changed in recent years since the Papago have owned more property. The house, now of wattle and daub, is never destroyed but those who keep to the old customs at all, often bury large amounts of property with the corpse, buying new saddles, clothes and canned goods for the purpose. A man's horse, which had something the status of a tool that he used, was often killed at the grave, though not now.

Cattle are considered family property and distributed to the children. They should, logically, be mens' goods, since their care belongs entirely to the men but modern life has brought no corresponding womens' goods and, in the instances known to the writer daughters have received cattle as well as sons. But customs, in this 768 428

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Pate" (both names bestowed on white people) reflect physical characteristics. Nicknames are commodities after a fashion, for they may be bought or traded.

When a Papago is addressed directly, neither the name given him by a medicine man nor his nickname is used. If the speaker is not a relative, he addresses another Papago by his English or Spanish name or by the Papago term for "friend." Spanish names were given to the Indians by the first missionary priests; they were all saints' names, and no surnames were added. As white men dealt increasingly with the Papago, they found it difficult to distinguish the many Joses, Juans, and Franciscos; so they introduced the Desert People to the system of taking the father's name. Frequently the Indians used the father's given name as a surname; thus a father, son, and grandson might be Jose Juan, Pablo Jose, and Cesario Pablo, respectively. Not all siblings, however, would necessarily take the father's name; five brothers might have five different surnames. Wives might take the husband's surname or retain their own. Whites were further confused by the ease with which Indians changed their names; Juan Francisco might suddenly become Chico Jose.

When the English-speaking white traders and government employees began to record these Spanish names, they were misled by the Papago pronunciation or by their own lack of acquaintance with Spanish into misspelling or anglicizing them. Thus Moristo has become "Molisto," and Averisto is alternatively spelled "Valisto"; Xavier is written "Havier" or is changed to "Harvey" or "Harris"; Candelaria may be "Condolorey." One well-known surname, Puella, is a white teacher's spelling of a Papago child's pronunciation of his name, Pedro Maria—"Pedlo Malia."

Although census records, school rolls, and registration for rationing and Selective Service have influenced Papago to keep the same name, some confusion remains because there is still a rather strong sanction against uttering names unnecessarily, particularly as terms of address. When addressed by name, many adults will answer with manifest annoyance if at all, and even a child who has been in school for some years will show embarrassment. English-speaking Papago seldom address a white person by name; they prefer "you." But, if a name must be used, it is always the surname with "Mr.," "Mrs.," or "Miss." The formal address is also used with certain Papago in positions commanding respect but never when a kin term might be substituted.

Thus the system of appellation so well defined in white culture is in a transitional stage among the Desert People. The old medicine men's names are dying out, and inheritance of surnames is gradually becoming common. But